

Message Text

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
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R 040935Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0161
INFO SECDEF WASHDC
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
COMUSJAPAN YOKOTA AB JA
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 TOKYO 14139

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MARR, JA
SUBJECT: 1978 JAPAN DEFENSE WHITE PAPER

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SUMMARY: FOURTH WHITE PAPER ON "DEFENSE OF JAPAN" IS
CONTINUATION OF WHAT SEEMS TO HAVE BECOME ANNUAL EFFORT
TO EDUCATE PUBLIC ON DEFENSE MATTERS. IT EMPHASIZES
FAMILIAR, ON-GOING PROGRAMS TO STRENGTHEN JAPANESE
DEFENSE, BUT ALSO INTRODUCES TRIAL BALLOONS ON POTENTIALLY
SENSITIVE SUBJECTS OF CIVIL DEFENSE AND LEGISLATION ON
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DEFENSE EMERGENCIES. MEDIA REACTION HAS BEEN RESTRAINED,
REFLECTING LACK OF SURPRISES AND FACT THAT DOCUMENT IS
PRODUCT OF THOROUGHGOING CONSENSUS-BUILDING PROCESS
WITHIN GOJ. DEFENSE AGENCY (JDA) DEMONSTRATES GROWING
SELF-CONFIDENCE IN BOTH ITS FRANK APPRAISAL OF DEFENSE
SITUATION, AND FACT THAT IT COULD PUBLISH SUCH A DOCUMENT
ROUTINELY--UNTHINKABLE ONLY FIVE YEARS AGO. HOWEVER, AS

SHOWN BY DISMISSAL OF OUTSPOKEN GEN. KURISU, POLITICAL LIMITS TO SUCH DISCUSSION BY UNIFORMED OFFICERS REMAIN. END SUMMARY.

1. CABINET JULY 28 APPROVED JDA'S 260-PAGE JFY 1978 WHITE PAPER ON "DEFENSE OF JAPAN" (SUMMARIZED REFTEL), CONFIRMING LAST YEAR'S DECISION TO PUBLISH DOCUMENT ANNUALLY. THIRD SUCH REPORT IN THREE YEARS (FOURTH SINCE ISSUANCE OF FIRST IN 1970), PAPER IS CAREFULLY WORDED DESCRIPTION OF GOJ VIEW OF INTERNATIONAL MILITARY SITUATION, JAPAN'S DEFENSE POLICIES, AND CURRENT SITUATION RELATING TO DEFENSE ISSUES.

2. PAPER EMPHASIZES THREAT OF SOVIET MILITARY BUILD-UP, ALTHOUGH NOT APPRECIABLY MORE SO THAN LAST YEAR. ACCORDING TO SOURCE IN MOFA SECURITY DIVISION, MOFA ATTEMPTED TO REDUCE THAT EMPHASIS AS WELL AS MENTION OF US WITHDRAWAL FROM KOREA AND SEVENTH FLEET LIMITATIONS, BUT WITH ONLY SMALL SUCCESS. IMPLIED SHIFT IN ASIAN BALANCE IS NOT, HOWEVER, SPECIFICALLY ADDRESSED BY PAPER, NOR IS ANY RESPONSE SUGGESTED TO REDRESS IMPLIED IMBALANCE.

3. PAPER EXPLICITLY RECOGNIZES JAPAN'S OBLIGATION TO SUPPLY FACILITIES AND AREAS TO US, AND REVIEWS GOJ DECISION TO ASSUME SHARE OF LABOR COSTS STARTING APRIL 1978 IN ORDER TO STABILIZE LIVELIHOOD OF USFJ EMPLOYEES. THUS, WHILE CONTINUING TO KEEP SECURITY TREATY IN FORECONFIDENTIAL

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FRONT OF JAPANESE DEFENSE POLICY, PAPER GOES SOMEWHAT FURTHER THAN BEFORE IN DISCUSSING INCREASING SHARE OF COMMITMENTS BORNE BY JAPAN UNDER TREATY. PAPER REVIEWS PAST POLICY TO KEEP DEFENSE EXPENDITURES WITHIN ONE PER CENT OF GNP "FOR THE TIME BEING."

4. MENTION OF LEGISLATION APPLYING TO DEFENSE EMERGENCIES IS OBVIOUSLY TRIAL BALLOON. GEN. KURISU'S RECENT REMARKS ON SAME SUBJECT, FOR WHICH HE WAS FIRED AS JOINT STAFF COUNCIL CHAIRMAN, APPEAR TO HAVE GIVEN CONSIDERABLE BOOST TO EFFORTS TO CORRECT DEFECTS IN SUCH LEGISLATION, BUT ANY PROPOSAL WILL STILL REQUIRE LENGTHY BUREAUCRATIC AND LEGISLATIVE EFFORTS TO IMPLEMENT. MENTION OF CIVIL DEFENSE PROGRAM STRIKES US AS TRIAL BALLOON WHICH IS EVEN FURTHER FROM REALIZATION.

5. LIKE LAST YEAR, PRESS HAS CRITICIZED PAPER FOR OVEREMPHASIZING THREAT POSED BY SOVIET MILITARY BUILD-UP AND HAS AGAINSTRESSED THEME THAT PAPER LACKS SUGGESTIONS. MOST PAPERS HAVE ALSO HESITATED TO ACCEPT AT FACE VALUE PAPER'S ENDORSEMENT OF US STATED COMMITMENT TO ASIAN SECURITY, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF KOREAN WITHDRAWAL.

SUCH CRITICISM IS TO BE EXPECTED AND, IN FACT, HAS BEEN
QUITE MODERATE IN TONE. ONE EDITORIAL REFERRED TO
DOCUMENT AS "GRAY PAPER" BECAUSE OF BLANDNESS WHICH
CHARACTERIZES MOST PRODUCTS THAT UNDERGO BUREAUCRACY'S
SCREENING PROCESS, BUT OTHERS TERMED IT "UNUSUALLY FRANK."
COMPLAINTS THAT EMPHASIS ON THREAT LEADS TO CONCLUSION
THAT DEFENSE SPENDING NEED BE INCREASED SHOW THAT EVEN
THOUGH PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE HAS SEEMINGLY IMPROVED IN RECENT
YEARS, JAPAN'S PRESS IS STILL UNCOMFORTABLE WITH CON-
CEPT OF GOJ LOBBYING FOR PUBLIC SUPPORT OF MEASURES

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L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11

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CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

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TO STRENGTHEN DEFENSE.

6. ALL IN ALL PAPER IS CAUTIOUS DOCUMENT THAT STILL
MANAGES TO ADVANCE DEFENSE ISSUES FOR PUBLIC DIS-
CUSSION. IT DOES NOT LOOK AHEAD TO FUTURE PROGRAMS
PER SE, AND RECENT "HOT" ISSUES SUCH AS F-4 CRASH AND
SENKAKUS INCIDENT ARE TOUCHED ON ONLY LIGHTLY; SOVIET
EXERCISES ON ETOROFU IN JUNE OCCURRED TOO CLOSE TO
PAPER'S DEADLINE FOR INCLUSION. DURING FALL DIET
SESSION PAPER IS CERTAIN TO BE SUBJECT OF ATTACKS LED

BY JSP WHICH HAS ALREADY ANNOUNCED IT WILL OPPOSE JDA
STUDY OF LEGISLATION ON DEFENSE EMERGENCIES.

7. IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT, IN COURSE OF CONSENSUS-
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BUILDING PROCESS JDA STOOD RATHER FIRMLY AND EVEN PRE-
VAILED OVER USUALLY STRONGER MOFA AND MOF OBJECTIONS ON
NUMBER OF POINTS, E.G., FOCUS ON SOVIET THREAT AND TRIAL
BALLOONS ON LEGISLATION AND CIVIL DEFENSE, THAT WOULD
HAVE BEEN PROBLEMATIC SEVERAL YEARS AGO. IN CONVERSA-
TIONS WITH EMBOFFS, JDA OFFICIALS HAVE DWELT ON IRONY
THAT WHITE PAPER IDENTIFIES LEGAL PROBLEMS DURING
DEFENSE EMERGENCIES, REMARKS ABOUT WHICH LED TO DIS-
MISSAL OF KURISU. THEY RECOGNIZE THAT IF THEY ARE
ENTERING NEW AGE OF SELF-CONFIDENCE, IT HAS MOST IF
NOT ALL OF POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS OF OLD. MANSFIELD

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